

Message Text

UNCLASSIFIED

PAGE 01 STATE 099185 TOSEC 040130
ORIGIN PA-02

INFO OCT-01 ISO-00 SS-15 SSO-00 CCO-00 /018 R

DRAFTED BY PA/M:MDROKEY:MDR
APPROVED BY PA/M:CWFREEMAN, JR.
S/S-O:S VALERGA
DESIRED DISTRIBUTION
PA, S/S, PA/PRESS

-----064813 182038Z /47

P 182020Z APR 78 ZFF4
FM SECSTATE WASHDC
TO USDEL SECRETARY PRIORITY

UNCLAS STATE 099185 TOSEC 040130

FOR CARTER FROM PA

E.O. 11652: N/A

TAGS: SOPN, OVIP (VANCE)

SUBJECT: PRESS MATERIAL

1. HEREWITH FULL TEXT H. D. S. GREENWAY BY-LINER WASHINGTON
POST TUESDAY APRIL 18 HEADED "ISRAELI SHIFT ON WEST BANK
MOSTLY WINDOW DRESSING."

2. JERUSALEM--ISRAEL'S SUBTLE REDEFINITION OF ITS POSITION
ON WITHDRAWAL IN THE OCCUPIED WEST BANK, BY ALL APPEAR-
ANCES, IS AN ATTEMPT TO ACCENTUATE THE POSITIVE AND ELIMI-
NATE THE NEGATIVE, IN TERMS OF HOW THE GOVERNMENT IS PER-
CEIVED ABROAD.

3. RATHER THAN REFLECTING A SUBSTANTIVE SHIFT IN NEGOTIAT-
ING POLICY, IT IS A KIND OF INTERNATIONAL WINDOW DRESSING
DESIGNED TO SELL A PRODUCT THAT CLEARLY IS NOT MOVING--
UNCLASSIFIED

UNCLASSIFIED

PAGE 02 STATE 099185 TOSEC 040130

PARTICULARLY IN THE UNITED STATES. BUT IT DID CONTAIN A
NUGGET OF CHANGE, AT LEAST IN NUANCE.

4. THE PERSISTENT CONTENTION THAT U.N. RESOLUTION 242,
WHICH CALLS FOR ISRAELI WITHDRAWAL FROM TERRITORIES CAPTURED
DURING THE 1967 WAR, DOES NOT APPLY TO THE WEST BANK HAS
CAUSED SEVERE DAMAGE TO ISRAEL'S IMAGE IN AMERICA, WHERE

EVEN U.S. JEWISH LEADERS HAVE EXPRESSED DISMAY.

5. A RECENT POLL BY THE NEW YORK TIMES AND CBS NEWS SHOWED THAT PUBLIC SUPPORT FOR THE ISRAELIS DROPPED FROM 54 PERCENT IN OCTOBER TO 43 PERCENT NOW, WHILE SUPPORT FOR THE ARABS REMAINED ALMOST STATIONARY.

6. ALTHOUGH THE NEW WORDING ON ISRAEL'S RESOLUTION 242 POLICY MAY SOLVE SOME PROBLEMS WITH THE UNITED STATES, IT IS NOT LIKELY TO SATISFY THE DEMANDS OF THE EGYPTIANS THAT A SOLID COMMITMENT TO WITHDRAWAL ON THE WEST BANK IS NECESSARY TO GET NEGOTIATIONS MOVING.

7. ON SUNDAY THE CABINET SEEMINGLY SOFTENED ITS STAND BY CONFIRMING THAT "SECURITY COUNCIL RESOLUTION 242 WILL SERVE AS A BASIS FOR NEGOTIATIONS BETWEEN ISRAEL AND ALL THE NEIGHBORING STATES--EGYPT, JORDAN, SYRIA AND LEBANON." THE SPECIFIC MENTION OF JORDAN AS A NEGOTIATING PARTNER WAS THE SOFTENER, CARRYING WITH IT THE IMPLICATION THAT ISRAEL WOULD DISCUSS THE WEST BANK WITH JORDAN.

8. "I DON'T HAVE TO SPELL IT OUT," SAID ZALMAN SHOVAL, ISRAEL'S NEW CHAIRMAN OF THE ADVISORY COMMITTEE ON INFORMATION TO THE FOREIGN MINISTRY, IN A PRESS BRIEFING. "WE ARE NOT DISCUSSING AMMAN WITH JORDAN."

UNCLASSIFIED

UNCLASSIFIED

PAGE 03 STATE 099185 TOSEC 040130

9. ISRAEL'S POSITION UNDER BEGIN ALL ALONG HAS BEEN THAT RESOLUTION 242 DOES NOT APPLY TO ALL TERRITORIES OCCUPIED IN 1967, AND SPECIFICALLY DOES NOT ENCOMPASS TERRITORIAL COMPROMISES ON THE WEST BANK.

10. BUT WHAT IS ISRAEL ACTUALLY WILLING TO DISCUSS WITH JORDAN? EVERYTHING IS NEGOTIABLE, THE ISRAELIS HAVE LONG CLAIMED, BUT THE NEW WORDING DOES NOT COMMIT ISRAEL TO THE PRINCIPLE TO WHICH WASHINGTON AND CAIRO WOULD LIKE ISRAEL TO COMMIT ITSELF: NAMELY THAT RESOLUTION 242 MEANS THAT ISRAEL WOULD PHYSICALLY WITHDRAW AT LEAST PARTIALLY FROM THE WEST BANK. NOR HAS ISRAEL COMMITTED ITSELF TO THE PRINCIPLE THAT RESOLUTION 242 REQUIRES WITHDRAWAL FROM "ALL FRONTS."

11. RATHER, ISRAEL BELIEVES ITS OWN LIMITED "SELF RULE" PROPOSAL AND ITS THEORY OF "FUNCTIONAL WITHDRAWAL" RATHER THAN ACTUAL TERRITORIAL CONCESSION, MEET THE REQUIREMENTS OF THE U.N. RESOLUTION. THE BEGIN PEACE PLAN CALLS FOR AN END TO THE MILITARY OCCUPATION OF THE WEST BANK AND GAZA AND A LARGE MEASURE OF LOCAL AUTONOMY FOR THE INHABITANTS, BUT SECURITY WOULD REMAIN IN THE HANDS OF THE ISRAELIS.

12. THUS IT IS ISRAEL'S STATED INTENTION TO NEGOTIATE WITH JORDAN THE POSSIBLE FORMS OF THIS FUNCTIONAL PARTITION, RATHER THAN AN ACTUAL PARTITION. "WE WANT THEM (THE WEST BANK ARABS) TO HAVE JORDANIAN CITIZENSHIP," SHOVAL SAID, AND PERHAPS TO VOTE IN JORDANIAN ELECTIONS.

13. IT WOULD NOT BE FAIR TO SAY THAT SUNDAY'S CABINET ANNOUNCEMENT WAS SIMPLY A MATTER OF SEMANTICS WITHOUT ANY SUBSTANCE. THE CABINET RECONFIRMED WHAT FOREIGN MINISTER MOSHE DAYAN HAS SAID MANY TIMES: THAT IF THE JORDANIANS WANT TO SUGGEST AN ACTUAL TERRITORIAL DIVISION OF THE WEST BANK, ISRAEL WILL NOT DISMISS IT OUT OF HAND. THE MATTER IS AT LEAST NEGOTIABLE, BUT THE WEST BANK IS NOT NECESSARI-
UNCLASSIFIED

UNCLASSIFIED

PAGE 04 STATE 099185 TOSEC 040130

LY RETURNABLE.

14. SOMETIMES, HOWEVER, SEMANTICS CAN INFLUENCE POLICY BY LEAVING DOORS AND OPTIONS OPEN FOR THE FUTURE.

15. THE CHANGE IN WORDING WAS THE WORK OF DAYAN, WHO HAS CONSISTANTLY AND QUIETLY TRIED TO PERSUADE HIS PRIME MINISTER TO ADOPT MORE POSITIVE WORDING AND OUT OF THE DIPLOMATIC CORNERS INTO WHICH BEGIN IS PRONE TO PAINT HIMSELF.

16. DURING THE RECENT BEGIN MISSION TO WASHINGTON, IT WAS DAYAN WHO CONSISTANTLY TRIED TO DEVISE NEW FORMULA AND NEW APPROACHES TO BRIDGE THE GAP BETWEEN THE AMERICANS AND THE ISRAELIS WITH LITTLE SUCCESS. BUT DAYAN HAS CONTINUED TO SEARCH FOR PHRASING THAT COULD GET NEGOTIATIONS MOVING AGAIN.

17. THERE IS SO MUCH AMBIGUITY SURROUNDING THE NEW ISRAELI FORMULATION THAT ISRAELI OFFICIALS THEMSELVES DO NOT AGREE ON EXACTLY WHAT IT MEANS. ONE HIGH OFFICIAL SAID SATURDAY THAT IT "CLEARLY INDICATES THAT WE DO NOT EXCLUDE THE WEST BANK FROM TERRITORIES OVER WHICH WE WILL NEGOTIATE WITHDRAWAL IN A PEACE TREATY." DAYAN SAID ON SATURDAY THAT THE ISRAELI PLAN WAS "NOT SACRED," AND THAT ISRAEL WOULD CONSIDER ARAB PROPOSALS.

18. IN A RECENT INTERVIEW WITH THE WASHINGTON POST, BEGIN MAINTAINED THAT ALTHOUGH EVERYTHING WAS NEGOTIABLE IN THE SENSE THAT ISRAEL WELCOMED ANY ARAB PROPOSALS, HE COULD NOT FORESEE ANY CONCEIVABLE SET OF CIRCUMSTANCES IN WHICH HE WOULD BE WILLING TO MAKE ANY TERRITORIAL COMPROMISES ON THE WEST BANK. CHRISTOPHER

UNCLASSIFIED

NNN

Message Attributes

Automatic Decaptioning: X
Capture Date: 01 jan 1994
Channel Indicators: n/a
Current Classification: UNCLASSIFIED
Concepts: TOSEC, PRESS COMMENTS, POLICIES, MILITARY OCCUPIED AREAS
Control Number: n/a
Copy: SINGLE
Draft Date: 18 apr 1978
Decaption Date: 01 jan 1960
Decaption Note:
Disposition Action: n/a
Disposition Approved on Date:
Disposition Case Number: n/a
Disposition Comment:
Disposition Date: 01 jan 1960
Disposition Event:
Disposition History: n/a
Disposition Reason:
Disposition Remarks:
Document Number: 1978STATE099185
Document Source: CORE
Document Unique ID: 00
Drafter: MDROKEY:MDR
Enclosure: n/a
Executive Order: N/A
Errors: N/A
Expiration:
Film Number: D780166-0466
Format: TEL
From: STATE
Handling Restrictions: n/a
Image Path:
ISecure: 1
Legacy Key: link1978/newtext/t19780443/aaaabkoi.tel
Line Count: 167
Litigation Code IDs:
Litigation Codes:
Litigation History:
Locator: TEXT ON-LINE, ON MICROFILM
Message ID: c17b07ac-c288-dd11-92da-001cc4696bcc
Office: ORIGIN PA
Original Classification: UNCLASSIFIED
Original Handling Restrictions: n/a
Original Previous Classification: n/a
Original Previous Handling Restrictions: n/a
Page Count: 4
Previous Channel Indicators: n/a
Previous Classification: n/a
Previous Handling Restrictions: n/a
Reference: n/a
Retention: 0
Review Action: RELEASED, APPROVED
Review Content Flags:
Review Date: 29 mar 2005
Review Event:
Review Exemptions: n/a
Review Media Identifier:
Review Release Date: N/A
Review Release Event: n/a
Review Transfer Date:
Review Withdrawn Fields: n/a
SAS ID: 2928653
Secure: OPEN
Status: NATIVE
Subject: PRESS MATERIAL
TAGS: SOPN, OVIP, PEPR, US, IS, WASHINGTON POST, (GREENWAY, H D S)
To: SECRETARY
Type: TE
vdkgvwkey: odbc://SAS/SAS.dbo.SAS_Docs/c17b07ac-c288-dd11-92da-001cc4696bcc
Review Markings:
Sheryl P. Walter
Declassified/Released
US Department of State
EO Systematic Review
20 Mar 2014
Markings: Sheryl P. Walter Declassified/Released US Department of State EO Systematic Review 20 Mar 2014